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UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. V APRIL 1, 1911 No. 2

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THE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By SAMUEL W. BELFORD

THE PROGRESSIVE STATE FROM THE UNIVERSITY POINT OF VIEW

By JOSEPH EDWARD STUBBS, President of the University

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA
RENO, NEVADA

Entered in the Postoffice at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter under the Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

Monograph

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Committee on Publications.

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LINCOLNIANA

PROGRAM

LINCOLN MEMORIAL EXERCISES

FEBRUARY 11, 1911.

Presiding Officer . . PRESIDENT JOSEPH E. STUBBS

Music . . . . . CADET BAND

Lincoln, the Master Administrator . . . .
HON. TASKER L. ODDIE, Governor of Nevada

Music . . . . . UNIVERSITY GLEE CLUB

The Character and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln . . . . . SAMUEL W. BELFORD

Music . . . . . CADET BAND

Brief addresses were made by the following state and legislative officers:

Hon. Gilbert C. Ross,
Lieutenant Governor

Hon. Clay Tallman,
President Pro-tem of the Senate

Hon. August Frohlich,
Speaker of the Assembly

Hon. A. A. Codd,
President of the Board of Regents

The members of the Legislature were the guests of honor.

THE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.*

By Samuel W. Belford

The influence of environment on nations opens a domain of historical speculation that is well-nigh limitless. The habits and customs of men are controlled by the natural conditions which surround them. The Mediterranean and the Aegean seas produced a maritime people. The fertility of the soil, the warm sunshine shedding its glow over the land of Italy, Greece, and Africa, brought forth innumerable harvests for which the water opened a market with far distant races. Commerce was encouraged, and association with a greater and broader world led to culture, knowledge, and refinement. The development of art, the spread of learning, the acquisition of comforts and luxuries established an earlier civilization, where nature had so generously provided the means for its growth.

In the colder North, the products of the soil were meager, insufficient in themselves to sustain life or furnish food for a numerous people. The forests, dense and impenetrable, were not adapted to encourage the knowledge of one tribe by another, but they afforded to man a means of sustenance in the perils of the chase. A nomadic race of hunters was the result—barbarous and ignorant warriors, lusty for battle, hardy and courageous, who sought a better field for their exploits and an escape from the prison of the woods.

The necessity for food extended their wanderings and

*An address delivered at the Lincoln Memorial Services at the University of Nevada, February 11, 1911.

conquests, and they finally reached the shores, to become wayfarers on the tides of the ocean. It was the only highway to tempt their restless ambition. An outlet from trouble at home, an open way to more genial climates, a means of retreat or communication, in the event of victory or defeat, the ocean called to these people as to her own children. They understood the moods and foibles of each other, played with life and jested with death.

The Viking heard a battle cry in the raging tempest, beheld the favor or threats of heaven in sunshine or lowering cloud, and felt himself rocked to sleep on the bosom of the waves, whose chant was the primitive music that roused, or soothed, the instincts of the primitive man. If the sea was cruel, it was also kind. If it took life, it gave it in return, and this element, working on man, fashioned a race which it has led to the uttermost parts of the earth. Proud and imperious, dominating and exultant, its blood touched with the wanderlust of ever-moving tides and currents, scornful of obstacles, heedless of danger, the seed of Norman and Saxon has overrun the world to conquer its barren places.

Nature with them had ever been a jealous mistress. Her favors were only for the strong and hardy, for she demanded vigor of mind and body, prodigious labor, clean living and right thinking. The rude buffeting of ocean storms was but the prelude to the ruder conquest of an unknown continent. The men who could survive the one could overcome the hardships of the other. Contact with her made us a pioneer people, a civilizing, liberty-loving race, fit to cope with forest and mountain, with plain and river.

So it was when Greenland beckoned to the Norsemen, when the Cavalier stepped upon the shores of Virginia, when the Mayflower turned her prow to the west and the Pilgrims knelt upon the soil of a new land, and so it was.

in 1809, when Abraham Lincoln looked out upon the lights and shadows of the Kentucky wilderness.

Had the imagination of man in that year sought to light upon a child of promise in whose destiny the future was likely to become interested, Abraham Lincoln would have been among the least of these. No pride of ancestry was his; no hereditary place of distinction was awaiting him; no fortune, gathered by the labors of others, was at his call. Poor whites, in a community as wretched as themselves, untutored except in the ways of poverty, far from civilization, on a desolate frontier—these were the companions of his early childhood and this was the stock from which he sprang. And such a childhood, half-clothed and ill-fed, finding comfort only in the dreams that haunt the infant mind. A cheerless window by day, a lighted tallow dip by night were the looms upon which were woven the somber colors of his fate. His heritage was merely the common heritage of his race, rich in promise, if strength of character could grow in a soil of hopeless misery.

The crosses of childhood are as real to those who bear them as were the ones on Calvary. Abraham had more than his share of those that were real and hardest to bear. Between him and his father there was no mystic bond of sympathy. Thomas Lincoln was scarcely fitted to enjoy the good will of those among whom he lived; and he could not understand or encourage a quest for things that lay beyond his own horizon. The axe and plow, the rifle and log cabin determined the limits of his world, while the hardest kind of hard labor, shifted to the boy, was its daily exaction. But in the mother love of gentle Nancy Hanks was the good fairy of those early years. She understood him and became his refuge and inspiration, leading his spirit past danger and pitfall to the heights where the sun was shining. If the burden was

too heavy, she lightened it; if the cross was too hard, she took it upon herself; if the way was too long for his lonely heart, she traveled it with him. As a potter with his clay, so she moulded the soul and character of her boy, marking deep by sorrow and patience the lines of strength, and giving him a stature that could endure responsibility.

What wonder that their cabin, standing midway between clearing and forest, became in his eyes strangely invested with the solemn beauty of a temple! It was illumined from within by the quenchless light of a measureless love. And when she had gone to watch over him from another shore, the despairing lad trudged for miles through sleet and snow to find some minister of God to say "Memoriam" by the lonely grave where his heart lay buried.

From Kentucky to Indiana, and from Indiana to Illinois, was the pilgrimage of the Lincolns, moving from one scene of shiftless living to another, until time had marked the end of Abraham's youth. If it was a dreary stretch of twenty-one years, it was all behind him, and he dared to lift his eyes in confidence to the future. He had discharged his duties to the utmost limit. There were no obligations to father or family which remained unfulfilled. The coarsest and most galling labor he had given freely and without stint, submitting to take a place beside the beast of burden, the yoke on man and ox alike, as the plow made its troubled way through the virgin soil. When the work on the Lincoln place was over, his toil had just begun. There were other fields to be tilled, other rails to be split and fences built, and Thomas Lincoln always found it convenient to sell the labor of his son to those who needed hired men.

Lincoln never had religious training such as this age affords. He read the Bible, because it was one of the few

books within his reach, just as he read the Statutes of Indiana. His father looked upon religion with an unusual catholicity of spirit, easily gliding from one church to another as each in turn appeared where he happened to be living. Probably the Baptist faith was the most impressive with Thomas Lincoln, as it gave him one of the few shocks he ever received, and it clung to him until he dried.

It was such a life as must test the mettle of the strongest, such a training that only the hardiest could survive; and yet it rounded out the character of Abraham Lincoln as no other life could possibly have done. He learned by the bitterness of his own experience the virtues of patience and forbearance. He acquired the habits of self-reliance and foresight, and he knew how to keep his eye on the furrow and to follow it to the end. But above all, he gained a master's knowledge of the character of men. He knew right and justice, because both had been repeatedly denied to him. He had tasted privation, disappointment and want, and drunk their dregs. There was no form of suffering or sorrow to which he was a stranger, while his ear was always tuned to catch the voice of despair. He saw things as they were, not as they were supposed to be. He distinguished reality from appearance, and his instinct was for truth. He recognized the weakness of human nature, feeling how prone it was to err, how worthy of forgiveness it could become. He gave to the tenderness of love and sympathy a full measure of appreciation, though he had known them so little, and he yielded to duty an undivided devotion that neither flagged nor faltered.

To these were added the greater belief in the capacity of man to dictate his own destiny. Abraham Lincoln had overcome so much that he felt that nothing good was ever wholly lost; that somehow and somewhere the right would

assert itself; that it could not be crushed nor permanently kept down. He must have seen the beginning of the new beliefs that are giving comfort and hope to the children of men; that as we are made in the image of God, so do we partake of His power; that our mission is the accomplishment of good, the certain elimination of evil, and the establishment here of a happiness for the human race not dependent upon the frail limitations of material sense.

Lincoln had developed and educated himself. Endowed with qualities latent in nearly all men, he had by intense application, by constant exercise of mind and heart and body, brought forth the mental and spiritual strength which in after years sustained him.

His journey to New Orleans was momentous, for it brought him into actual contact with slavery. It showed him the ownership of one man by another, the one who labored and the other who took the fruits of that labor. Its heartless injustice, the cruelty of a law-protected evil, its violation of every natural and humanizing impulse, the degradation of men to a state where they were no longer entitled to recognition as men, the bondage of the son flowing from the bondage of the mother, the overturning of all the purposes of a righteous God—all these combined to make an ineffaceable impression upon Lincoln and to burn its image upon his soul.

It is singular and interesting that he should at this period have been in the Prairie State, which bore a name of promise, sweetened by the memory of Marquette. It is related that, years before civilization had spread over the face of the country, the forest priest, speeding his canoe on the "Father of Waters", had come upon an Indian camp. They took him through the woods to the lodge of their chief and, marvelling at his pale face, plied him with a hundred questions, as if he were, in truth, a

celestial visitor. He quietly asked them who they were. The chief replied, "We are the Illinois", which being interpreted means, "We are Men". And surely, in that land God raised up men.

A legislative career followed Lincoln's failure as a merchant and his activity as a surveyor. It was notable in only two respects: it furnished an index of his intellectual honesty, it was a symbol of his intellectual development. In a county where Andrew Jackson was idolized, Lincoln made his first essay into politics as a Whig.

Facing certain defeat as a candidate for the Legislature, he declared his adherence to the policies of Henry Clay and told his neighbors, "I have been too familiar with disappointment to be much hurt by defeat." At this time, too, he was growing in the power of expression, in his spreading fame as an orator, and in the crystallization and maturity of ideas which he never afterwards abandoned.

And here occurred an incident the importance of which neither participant ever realized. A young Vermonter, by the name of Stephen A. Douglas, crossed the narrow orbit of Lincoln's life and heard the raw legislator from New Salem denounce slavery before an assemblage of its friends. Douglas, from the North, its apologist. Lincoln from the South, its assailant—it would be difficult to imagine two men so totally at variance, and it might not be uninteresting to take a mental picture of both. Douglas was State's attorney, clever, captivating, volatile, of good address, short of stature, with a handsome head resting closely upon graceful shoulders. Lincoln, partaking of the soil, the hero of the wrestling ring and of the frontier combat, but lately clothed in skins, tall, gaunt, uncouth, a half-starved look on his sunken cheeks, big-boned and awkward, homely of gait and gesture, was a storm-beaten figure, emerging from

the tempest. Upon these two history was preparing to focus its attention while Providence worked out the destiny of a nation.

The legislative career closed ingloriously. Lincoln went back to his narrow life; Douglas moved in an ever-widening sphere, exciting the admiration of his wondering countrymen. Lincoln had studied law—how, only the Lord and himself ever knew. A term in Congress, brief and inconspicuous, and a rejected application for an appointment to office, seemed to close the chapter of his bid for fame.

But there never was a decade where man and cause were preparing for each other as that which followed Lincoln's retirement from public life. He became a noted figure on his judicial circuit, moving constantly among the farmers of Illinois, establishing friendships in every town, earning the esteem and respect of their people, and drawing to himself the personal affections of a multitude to whom Douglas was only a name. He became a leader in his profession, bench and bar alike recognizing the master mind. Skillful in debate, persuasive, keen-minded, grasping the fundamentals of his case and holding fast to the right, such was Lincoln, as developed by the court room. His memory has enriched the best traditions of his profession and has convinced those of us who follow it that in adherence to its highest standards is the open road to success.

The legal profession is one of opportunity and responsibility, charged as it is with the duty of making and applying the laws of the land to every relation of human society. What greater incentive should exist for the exercise of the loftiest ideals than mere brotherhood in such a calling! The lawyer who ignores his duty, who violates the ethical spirit of the law, who encourages a contempt for it, or brings it into disrepute, is disloyal to his state

and country. It matters not whether it be the counsel for great corporations, who aids them to pervert the law and to conquer through chicanery, or the obscure harpy of divorce courts—both stand alike upon the stool of professional unworthiness. Lincoln regarded the upright practice of law as a public duty, and the people knew he so regarded it. His reputation became more than state wide and, in an age before the press did our thinking, his power as an orator, his fame as a lawyer, the sincerity and depth of his convictions, had won for him the heart of Illinois.

And as he grew so grew the cause that was to claim him. The group of great men who founded the Nation recognized the danger of slavery and, so far as their influence extended, they sought to curtail it. Jefferson had caught a glimpse of the impending conflict, and with all his earnestness he endeavored to persuade Virginia to give up her slaves. Washington and Madison were no less emphatic in their denunciation of its curse—a curse that rested not alone upon the slave, but even more upon the master—and not upon the master alone, but even more upon the Nation. The generation of the Revolution condemned slavery as a moral wrong. Many of their descendants, blinded by the wealth of an economic system resting upon unrequited toil, declared that it was right.

The challenge was accepted by Lovejoy, Garrison, and Phillips, who dedicated their lives to its abolition. The growth of public opinion was slow, but it was steadily attaining strength. Calhoun and Jackson had already come into collision, not ostensibly, but in reality, over slavery, and the South was quick to realize that its favored institution was in danger. A great historian has observed that no government was ever overthrown except with the help of some of its departments. So the slave power organized itself politically to make government the ally

of its interest, and, to fasten its hold upon the country, seized the fountains of justice. It played upon the passions of the people; it incited them to party loyalty, when it controlled all parties. It suppressed honest discussion by social discrimination and by pleas for business stability. It seduced men from their duty by the gratification of an empty ambition, in which principle was to play no part. It beguiled the people by allowing them to juggle with other issues. It forced the Dred Scott decision and the Missouri Compromise. It kept Webster out of the Presidency and filled that office with men of its own choosing. What a splendid expanse of mediocrity it produced from Jackson to Lincoln!

Do we not own its modern successor? Have we not seen the same tactics and the same plan with concentrated and unscrupulous wealth holding the reins? The abuse of the courts, the subservience of government, the insolence of a Senate, the feebleness of a House, the raising of false issues to distract the public mind, social ostracism and religious cant when unlawful usurpations by capital are questioned, appeals to party loyalty when neither party is worthy of public confidence and when both bid for the support of the same influence, the betrayal of principle, the procession of smiling acquiescence to the White House—what a glorious stretch of mediocrity it has given us between Lincoln and Roosevelt! May there be another such answer to our prayer, as Lincoln was the answer to the prayer of his time. May there be found in this great land another prophet to remove the bandage from our eyes and to turn us toward the light.

The Missouri Compromise was illogical and inefficient. It could not last permanently because it was fundamentally wrong. It represented and stood for a strange spectacle—the national conscience attempting to lull itself to sleep—and yet it was the result of years of agitation from

the time of the fatal mistake in the Constitution, which recognized slavery, to the day of its enactment. It provided that Missouri might be admitted as a slave state on condition that, thereafter, northwestern territory should forever be free. All sections of the country had apparently acquiesced in this settlement of a dangerous problem. The Compromise was entirely satisfactory to Big Business and it was forced upon the people by that sordid class which, from the beginning of time, has railed at progress and cried, "Let well enough alone"—a class which has wrought the ruin of every nation which allowed it to control or which listened to its threats.

Slavery had cast its covetous eyes upon Missouri, and, to secure her then, agreed to give up the indefinite future. Men were found, even a majority, who believed that a compact would be kept by Wrong, but the growth of Kansas and Nebraska excited the foes and friends of slavery, the one to keep it out of the new states, the other to force it upon them. With a ruthless disregard of all obligations of faith and honesty, of fair and open dealing, the Compromise was repealed that slavery might be extended, and Douglas, to divert the anger of the North, went before the Country with the specious plea that the Compromise should be repealed in order that the new states themselves might have the right to declare whether they wanted slavery or not.

The storm broke over the country like the wrath of an avenging angel. It swept men and states from their moorings, unbridled their passions, and stirred to its depth the heart of a free people. Wrong had refused to keep its treaty. The South met the outbreak with threats of disunion, declaring that only by the acceptance of its terms could the Union be preserved, that only as its creature could the Nation live. But it went further than this. Relying upon the noblest of sentiments, the pride

of nationality, the leaders of the South resolved that they would allow the Union to continue, upon the condition that no restriction whatever should be placed upon the extension of slavery, which, thereafter, should be permitted to roam wheresoever it willed. These declarations were the forerunners of the famous peace congress at Richmond, which two years later issued its manifesto that the South would resume its place in the Union when an amendment to the Constitution should be adopted prohibiting Congress and the states from in any manner interfering with slavery. Thus early did it become clear that the slave power, to protect itself, would unhesitatingly sacrifice the integrity of the Nation.

Yet Douglas took up its cause, and a formidable champion he was, the foremost man of his day, owning an international renown, strengthened by the quiet sympathy of envious Europe, his fame secure, his words courageous. His very audacity quieted the storm, and he waited in serene confidence for an antagonist to brave the lightning. None seemed to come, none seemed to measure up to his battle stature. The North was without its knight, when Destiny beckoned to Lincoln and whispered that the hour was at hand.

Then the way was made clear. Perhaps he could see at last why his whole life had been centering toward this supreme effort; why labor had been his lot, with suffering ever at his side; why poverty and toil in shutting out one light had given him another within himself; why the frontier had blessed him with a strong body wherein he might nurture a clear mind. He, perhaps, realized that contact with the soil was after all a broadening education, teaching him to make articulate the inmost feelings of the people. When all seemed lost, everything had, in fact, been won. The trials and disappointments which had attended him in his slow, upward movement had given

him patience with himself and charity for others. Deprivation had spiritualized Lincoln and made him feel the truth before others had caught a glimpse of the fleeting vision.

It was a struggle of Titans, because both realized that Freedom and Slavery at last stood face to face and that one or the other must yield. The last compromise was over, the last quibble had been spoken, the conflict had indeed become irrepressible. I have heard men who listened to the debate tell of this victory of Douglas and that one of Lincoln; how the tide rose and fell over these two men, the one the embodiment of grace, the other standing as stark and gaunt as Truth; how anomalous that slavery should exist in one State and not in another; that evil could be partly good, and good partly evil; how, if slavery was right, it was wholly right, if wrong, it was wholly wrong. With the consummate skill of a master, Lincoln drove Douglas from one position to another, shattered his hold upon the South, destroyed the confidence of the North in his sincerity, and left him a national figure without a following and one whose race was run.

The climax of the debate was Lincoln's declaration that a house divided against itself could not stand, and his question whether, in the opinion of Douglas, the Federal government had the power, under the Constitution, to exclude slavery from the Territories. It was a startling question. If Douglas answered in the affirmative, he lost the South, if he answered in the negative, he lost the North. The result was as Lincoln had foreseen; his great antagonist threw away the future for a present advantage, while Lincoln yielded the moment and gained eternity. Who can ever forget the pathos of his life when Lincoln simply said, "With me the race of ambition has been a failure, with him it has been a splendid success. Every-

body expects Judge Douglas to be President, nobody believes that I will ever be President."

Throughout the debate, Lincoln's appeal was more to the South than to the North, as he tried to recall his own people to their sense of duty before the stern necessities of war should desolate the land. He hated slavery with all the vigor of his nature, but he sought to reclaim the slave holder by every concession, short of principle, which the Nation could yield. To Lincoln the Union was everything, to the preservation of which even slavery must be sacrificed. His election to the Presidency in 1860 was the direct result of the conflict of 1858. America, even in those days of internal strife, was still the land of opportunity. Within twenty-five years from the time Lincoln ceased to be a hired laborer, he was President of the United States, called to the exercise of more power than any sovereign since Napoleon has attempted to wield.

It may perhaps be said that the darkest period of his life was the stretch of four months between the date of his election and his inauguration. He was committed to the preservation of the Union. Without knowing or caring to know, without a proper understanding of his aims, heedlessly and impetuously the South had embraced secession. Lincoln had not promised to destroy slavery, he had no intention of interfering with the economic conditions of the South, nor of breaking up its domestic arrangements. He had thought and hoped that slavery would itself reach a position of gradual extinction by the purchase of the freedom of the slaves by the government. Emancipation was not involved in the contest, except as the South itself involved it, and with Lincoln it was always compensated emancipation. He realized that the South of 1860 had inherited its slaves, that it had grown up under a system for which it was not responsible, but which had come to it from generations of the past. And

he knew that the South had itself in the earlier days, against the opposition of New England, attempted to wipe out the stain of involuntary servitude. In his broad charity and deep sense of justice, Lincoln shrank from the infliction of suffering upon the Southern people, either through the loss of property, for which he earnestly sought to pay, or through the calamities of war, which he was strenuously struggling to prevent.

But their attitude admitted of no accommodation and they attempted to force the recognition of their program by the destruction of the Union. To this mad policy was added the greater error of the establishment on this continent of a distinctive slave power, with an independent government of its own, and the folly of making one people strangers and aliens. Day after day, during this period of the most melancholy forebodings, the administration of Buchanan, quietly and treasonably, continued to undermine the foundations of the Republic. It is doubtful if history can produce a parallel for the perfidy and cunning, for the shameless betrayal of trust which characterized the last months of that administration. There is something so sinister in covert treason, so despicable in him who betrays, that the hearts of men instinctively recoil in horror. Lincoln knew that the strength of the Union was slowly ebbing away, already he felt the blows that were struck against its existence, and he saw armies made ready to attack it. State after state went out; the supremacy of the law and of the Constitution was destroyed; Washington slept in lethargy, while only those who sought the life of the country were active. That period was his Gethsemane, and it aged him in a hundred days.

His inauguration was to be taken as a proclamation of war, as the time when the South should capture Washington, dissolve the Union, and force the recognition of its own independence. The preparations were made. Beaure-

gard was in South Carolina, Lee in Virginia, at the head of hosts, ready to attack; Lincoln was in Springfield, powerless to stop their machinations. He was conscious of the gravity of his peril, and, better than all others, he realized the overshadowing danger into which he was about to step. But his agony was the agony of a strong man, not worn upon the sleeve, but written upon the heart.

To save the Union, he had a divided North, unarmed and unprepared, its counsels distracted by dissension and faction, the Treasury bankrupt, its credit on the verge of ruin, and an army and navy which existed only on paper. Even his Cabinet added to the troubles of the already overburdened man. Subjected to their abuse, their quiet jibes and sneers, the new President in his own official family was a stranger.

Stanton had treated Lincoln with the most cruel abuse at their first meeting, and in describing him had given a scurrilous tongue its full and unimpeded range. The great newspapers of the country attempted to make Lincoln an object of nation-wide contempt. There was nothing too sharp or too bitter for the pens of the scribes who pictured him. Yet through it all was his same unending patience, his charity and his good will, even for those who defamed him most. He seemed to dread praise more than he feared criticism. It is related that upon one occasion, when his genius was so conspicuous as to arouse the reluctant admiration of Stanton, a kindly word of appreciation for Lincoln escaped from the lips of the great war minister. When this praise reached Lincoln's ear, he said it reminded him of the Hoosier blacksmith who told his neighbors he guessed he loved ginger bread more than any one in the world and got less of it.

Seward and Chase, great as they undoubtedly were, were not yet great enough to sink their personal differ-

ences in the face of the coming storm. It required all the infinite tact, patience, and humility which Lincoln had to hold them together, and to keep each within his own sphere. It seemed to them that the man of least importance in the Lincoln administration was Abraham Lincoln. To be sure, he was President, but they had been selected by some occult interposition to relieve him of the responsibilities of his office.

The country awaited Lincoln's inauguration with intense anxiety, first, because of what he might say, and, secondly, because of the results of his declaration. Instead of proclaiming war, his inaugural was a prayer for peace; a call to the South to come back to the Union and to abandon the frenzied passions of the moment. Standing at the east front of the Capitol, overlooking a sea of upturned faces, under conditions that would appal the bravest soul, Lincoln made his appeal to the heart and sympathy of the erring South, and to the conscience of the civilized world. The sublimity of its thought, the depth of its feeling, its infinite mercy and charity, will thrill humanity as long as memory endures.

> In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."
>
> I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

But its appeal was in vain. Secession flew to arms and the curse of war was loose upon the land.

England, France, and Spain were merely waiting for an opportunity to inject themselves into our affairs. International friendship is a myth and a delusion, the product of the dreams of doctrinaires. Selfish interest wrote the policy of the Powers, all of whom sought, so far as they could, the overthrow of the Republic. England was more keenly alive to the cotton fields than to human rights. When I speak of England, I mean the government, not the people, of England; for they, even at the time when our war was closing their factories and bringing idleness and want upon them, urged us to persevere in the struggle in the interest of human liberty. A Tory government, headed by Palmerston and Russell, was in full and complete control, representing the landed interests of the kingdom and its aristocracy. It was a doubtful boast to say that every blade of grass had its representative in Parliament, where millions of people were unrepresented. Through the cabinets of Europe, Russell sent the message that the Union was dead, and it was he who notified Lincoln that Great Britain and France would act in concert with reference to our affairs. When we were struggling in the very slough of despond, English privateers were preying upon our commerce; when we were fighting for the right to exist as a nation, England was lending aid and comfort to the enemy; when we were seeking to abolish slavery, England was scheming to force it upon us—and this from the government of a country which has given the world Milton and Hampden, Chatham, Burke and Fox. There were but two nations who extended to the Republic their sympathy and support, Russia, whose Emperor had liberated twenty million serfs, and China, whose Prince Regent, in the interests of mankind, closed the ports of his country "to the seditious".

Putting down rebellion, while holding off a foreign war, were greater tasks than ever confronted an American

statesman. Singly, they would stagger Courage itself, when combined, only the heroic soul could rise to the emergency.

Throughout the terrible years of the war, Lincoln held Europe at bay by a policy so wise and magnanimous that it finally won the admiration of his antagonists. The South was rash enough to strike the first blow, and for two years Europe witnessed the struggles of the Federal government to re-establish an authority disputed by armed insurrection. In such a contest it could not intervene without inviting a deluge upon itself. When the war had dragged itself through defeat and disaster, until the patience of the North was becoming exhausted and the hopes of European intervention, "to stop a seemingly useless slaughter," were about to be realized, Lincoln struck the blow of Emancipation.

Its object was twofold, first, as a decisive war measure, to rally the North and to take the slaves from the Southern fields, and, secondly, to checkmate foreign activities toward interference with the prosecution of the war. Nothing better was ever conceived to produce far reaching results at a critical time. Its effect was spontaneous and world-wide—it immediately realized the freedom of a race and the applause of mankind.

From the time of the issuance of the famous proclamation, when Lincoln wrote "Liberty" on the banners of his army, the character of the war became ennobled; it was being waged, not alone to establish the supremacy of the Constitution and the authority of the Nation, but to give freedom to millions of men. History may be searched in vain to find where such a chance was ever given to one man to confer liberty upon an alien race. It is idle to believe that freedom can long be maintained by one people who deny the same blessings to another people. In the final analysis, the measure of the good we enjoy will

be the amount of good we do to others. The law of compensation, under whatever guise it appears, proclaims that what we do to others, we, in reality, do to ourselves, whether it be good or evil, right or wrong. And the law is eternal. The greatest sufferer from injustice is he who works it, the greatest injury from hate is to him who indulges it. We have only what we give—love or malice—and it is reflected back upon our own hearts. As it is with men, so it must be with nations of men. So it was with Lincoln.

By giving freedom to the slaves, he won the moral support of civilization. It strengthened our armies, fortified our cause, sustained the weak and timid, banished doubts and misgivings, and turned defeat into victory. The slave had, in fact, brought to the Emancipator the strength and courage that he needed to fight his way to the light.

They were four terrible years; a conflict, the greatest in all the annals of time, had rent and split us asunder. Untold millions of treasure, thousands of precious lives, a wreck-strewn country were but a part of its awful cost. Yet through it all was the guidance of the burdened, saddened man who took the helm when the ship was sinking. It was his benevolence, his wisdom and patience which outrode the storm and stilled the contending hosts. A field of battle is the supreme expression of human effort—crowded with suffering, pulsating with despair, its misery infinite, its courage sublime. The whole Nation was battle-stricken, rising from one blow to sink under another. The strife of brothers is not God's work, but it is His work to hush the tumult.

It is said that Lincoln cannot be explained. But he is explained in the knowledge we have of the righteous purposes of Providence. We do not know from whence there came to him the genius for statecraft, the lofty

eloquence at Gettysburg that made him the peer of Pericles, the luminous gift of military skill, the clear vision that could read the souls of men and foresee their actions, but we do know that, somehow, in that day of sternest trial, we had the things which we needed most. and knowing this is knowing God.

When his work was finished the great soul took its flight. The love which Lincoln gave to humanity has made humanity love Lincoln. I have seen the inscription on the marble tablet marking the spot where Lincoln died. A simple thing, that "President Lincoln died in this house". It was not death for him, but a greater life, and who will dare to mark the limits of a great life well lived? The influence of Lincoln's career will never cease to quicken the aspirations of mankind while the search for better things animates its heart. He was above the temptations of ambition, beyond the lust for power, untouched by the lure of personal glory, unless it came from the discharge of public duty.

Clinging to his belief in the right, and its ultimate triumph, he regarded himself as but an instrument of Providence, through which it was making clear its will. Whatever may have been in store for him lost its significance in his eyes. as he felt himself overshadowed by the greatness of the work he was called to do.

There was no taint of Caesar in his nature; nothing there that was patterned after Cromwell. Commander of the greatest army that has ever marched and of the greatest navy that has ever sailed the seas, invested with authority that knew no limits, Lincoln devoted his power to the service of freedom, to the redemption of the slave, to the good of mankind. Great power with Lincoln meant a prayer that his solemn opportunity might be met aright, that from his life's work there might come a new era of hope for humanity.

Do we wonder now that with his death the clouds of prejudice and injustice should have been lifted from the eyes of nations and that, at last, they were able to discern the sublimity of a character which they had reviled and scorned? Even from England there came a plea for forgiveness for the thorns she had placed upon his brow, an acknowledgment of her error in crowding his way with trouble. When the news of his death reached London, the press hastened to make amends, and this tribute was paid to Lincoln's worth:

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier!
You who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please!
. . . . . .
Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for you?
. . . . . .
How humble, yet how hopeful he could be!
How in good fortune and in ill the same!
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

Was it not fitting that in his final triumph, when peace had returned to the land, when slavery had forever been banished, not from this country alone, but from the entire civilized world, when the grandees, who had spoken of him with contempt, were the first to lay their tributes of admiration at his feet, when war itself had ceased, and the Republic, which he loved, stood forth cleansed and regenerated, when the affection of all mankind was lav-

ished upon him, and when he was first in the hearts of men, that the cares of this life should pass away, and that his example should become as a light to the world!

How rare has been the fortune of the Republic to have produced within a century two such men as Washington and Lincoln! What an acknowledgment of the capacity of man to attain perfection! We think great events and great men are the fixed points and the peaks of history; and it is from them that we observe it in its totality and follow it along its highways. As the mariner, without a compass, may steer by the stars, so can this Nation, if it loses all else, guide itself aright by their example.

Both lived to teach mankind that order and liberty were the fruits of democracy, that government could safely rest in the hands of the people, that the divine right of kings was a deceptive philosophy, outworn and outgrown by the march of progress. Their careers, so alike and yet so different, attested the truth of the belief, now so potent, that ideas must govern this universe, that above and beyond the ambition and plans of men are the fixed purposes of God, slowly, but certainly and inexorably moving toward their fulfillment.

The greatest figure of the greatest war that history has ever known emerged from the struggle with an influence which is wholly spiritual. The thought of Lincoln is in itself a benediction. The utterance of his name is an expression of charity and compassion. He has made rich the life of his people and has taught them the nearness of God. As Lincoln's example is to us, so must our example be to the world. I hope the day may speedily come when peace will brood over the earth, when men will accept as the law of nations the simple tests of right and wrong, when force will be displaced by reason and justice, when power gives way to conscience. May the people of every clime strive together in perfect concord and harmony for

the universal betterment of mankind, and to bring to pass a world-wide patriotism in the acceptance of a world-wide brotherhood. We are all His children. Differences of tongue or race, of country or condition, are but the products of environment. Beneath them all is the imperishable unity of humanity.

It is upon this that we must ultimately rely; it is from this that the salvation of the human race must come.

How feeble against His purposes and laws are the mightiest armies and the strongest fleets. How idle to misuse material power to accomplish injustice, to wreak our will by force, to conquer through fear.

We may rise or fall; we may travel again the highway of error, where other nations have gone before, to find that God's laws await us at the end, as they existed at the beginning. If wealth and power ever lead us to arrogant conquest, or turn into false channels the energies and strength of our people; if, having them, we forget from whence they come, may the memory of Lincoln's gentle life recall our wandering steps.

"For heathen heart that puts her trust,
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And, guarding, calls not Thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word,
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord."

THE PROGRESSIVE STATE FROM THE UNIVERSITY POINT OF VIEW.*

By Joseph Edward Stubbs

The Duty of Service

University education is a training for service. The education received from books, from the laboratory, from the library, from friendship, has in view service—public and private service. The aim of the university, ideally expressed, is service. The fundamental purpose of the student's college life should be intelligently directed to the best training for the highest ends of service. If this be not the ultimate aim of the work in universities, colleges, and public schools, then these institutions have no reason for their existence. If this be not their lofty aim and purpose, then the money that is paid out freely and gladly for the support of these institutions is wasted, utterly wasted. If our schools, our colleges, our universities do not result in the formation of strong and beautiful characters, fitted by training to bear the burdens, the duties, and the privileges of citizenship, then the taxation of the people for their support is not justified, and the money that is poured out so freely from private sources is a mistake. But the money is not wasted. Benefactions are appreciated. Universities and colleges feel the responsibility which these gifts place upon their administrators and their faculties.

Every university has an exalted ideal of the good that it is doing, of the blessings that it is conferring, of the citizenship that it is cultivating, of the life of public and private service which is its dominating principle. The

*An address delivered at the Baptist Church, Reno, Nevada, March 12, 1911.

university keeps its eye fixed upon the stars. It takes its bearing from the stars, which represent the divinity of light. But, while it may sweep the heavens with the glass of the astronomer, its work is upon the earth, and its purpose is to make better the life of man by service, and to spread the knowledge of the brotherhood of man wherever its influence can reach.

Keep in your thought, therefore, this fundamental and paramount principle—that human life within the boundaries of this great Commonwealth; human life that finds its finest expression in the family relation, the unit, the center, of all social well-being; or in the larger life of the community, the school district, seeking both by law and association the culture of all common schools and the opportunity for every one to make the best of himself; or in the larger and more complex relations that grow out of county organization; or in its highest form, in the state administration, the Governorship, the Supreme Court, the Legislature—that all life is service. If in this simple organization for human welfare this vital principle of human brotherhood prevails; if the family is kept secure by law and by public opinion; if the entire Commonwealth is ruled and controlled by the principle of service, service for others, service for one's self—this State is a fine example of a Progressive State.

Morally considered, this State is making progress when there is developed in its individual, family, social, political, educational, and religious life the working out, under practical forms, of the ideal of public service; when the purpose of every man in business and in social life is governed by the welfare of others, as well as of himself; when he will receive no gain, he will achieve no success, he will be a party to no policy that invades or destroys the prosperity and happiness of the other fellow. A Progressive State is progressive only in an ethical or moral

sense. There is no permanent gain to the citizens of this Commonwealth unless that gain is accomplished, that end achieved, by strictly moral considerations, by a life that is governed by the ideal of service to others as well as service to one's self. I know that there are some philosophers and men of practical mind who say that everything that is done by man is done from a selfish motive, through selfish interest, having in mind self and selfish gain. This is not so. There are those whose lives are governed by the principle of the Sermon on the Mount, who, if a man ask them to go with him one mile, will go with him twain; who follow devotedly, even passionately, the law of Christ, which says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself." Who is this neighbor—mine and thine? Read the story of the Good Samaritan and find the answer. There are those who meet the high requirements of this law, and go forth to meet them as sweetly, as cheerfully, as heroically as they respond to the wooing of a beautiful summer's morn. The rule of David Harum would be called practical, but it would hardly be designated as "golden". Says David, "Do unto the other fellow as he would do unto you, but see that you do it fust". The Golden Rule, as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, breathes the true spirit of brotherhood and helpfulness, is everlastingly true, and to be practiced ought to rest firmly upon the conscience of every human being. The University seeks to train its students to the fulfillment of this divine precept.

Money from the State is usually given to the University with an ungrudging hand. Private wealth has in late years found its way in abundance to the universities of the country. Men have found no better way to do good and be helpful than by the bestowment of their wealth upon educational institutions. Within the past few years the University of Nevada has received a share

of these gracious benefactions. Without this aid the University would now be lagging behind in its efforts to carry out its principle of public and private service in University life; but as it is, the University has made great steps in advance and is keeping pace with many older colleges in thickly settled communities. It is doing work unsurpassed by any other institution. It keeps before the minds of its Regents, its Faculty, and its students the helpful ideal of being of the utmost service to this State and to the Nation. Young men and women, when they enter the university, do not always consciously have in mind the distinct aim of service, the distinct aim of citizenship. Sometimes young men enter college for the sake of the friendships they form, of the fellowships they establish, of the social life they enjoy. Sometimes they enter college with the distinct aim of gaining knowledge because it is often said that "Knowledge is power", but without the enlarging and illuminating influence of seeking knowledge that they may be trained and fitted the better for service. Mr. Stokes says that "Often a false sense of proportion acquired during college days sticks to a man through life, and has caused many a man to leave the path of usefulness for a life of vice and laziness". Knowledge alone, secured for its own sake, is of little value, and there is no adequate gain of power from knowledge acquired and stimulated by marks or rank in classes. The only way of insuring the education which will result in friendship, in knowledge, in breadth of view, and in power is for the student to keep in mind constantly the ideal of public and private service.

No state should be called progressive unless its progress is based upon moral or ethical considerations. There is no distinction between private and public morality. I am aware that there are some schools of thought in which this distinction is held. "The Stoic formula is, 'To live

according to reason'—and the world is not likely to get beyond this—to let reason, not passion, rule our lives. Civilization is first and before all things ethical. Not literature, not art, not science, not commerce and manufactures, not the soldier and the policeman, but morality is its foundation. Truth and right are the very breath of life to states, as to individual men. It is to follow that which reason, speaking through conscience, dictates as right. This is the only true rule of public as of private life."

The true end of civil society, whether this applies to the civil society of the Nation, or of the state, or to the counties and the communities of the state, is a noble existence, a worthy life, in which the ideal of service and brotherhood prevails. "The sacred distinction between person and thing", as Coleridge well observes, "is the light and life of all law, human and divine." The distinction between right and wrong remains eternally, everlastingly true.

It is the aim of the university thoroughly to teach this fundamental doctrine of morality and to instill the teaching of public service and human brotherhood as founded upon the eternal distinction between right and wrong. I know that this is ofttimes regarded as the teaching of an ideal that has no place in the practical affairs of life. I know that there are some who will teach that what one ought to do as an individual does not hold true in public life. Yet this was the teaching that gave courage and justice and ultimately far reaching influence to the public life of the gentleman who gave that epigrammatic address before the Young Men's Christian Association on "Soldiers of Peace."* It applies to the judgment and conscience and sense of fair play of every right-minded citizen.

*Former Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri.

It is the duty of the State University to train every one of its students to a life of public service. Our democracy is founded upon the theory that we each and every one take a strong and impartial interest in seeing that our legislature, our commerce, our schools, our everything, is conducted in such a way as to give every man an equal chance, so far as conditions permit, to make a living, to educate and to rear his children well and with the best educational advantages, to secure for his household many of the things which contribute to the ease and culture and welfare of those within the home. The experiment of democracy in the United States will only fail, if it ever fails, because the citizens have not done their duty and have left their resources and their privileges as a prey to those who do not observe the Golden Rule.

The privileges and the advantages that the university gives are past reckoning, and in their social and scholastic relations the students should aim to be lifters and not leaners, so that when they take their place as members of society they will exemplify in their lives and practice the doctrine of public service; that their hands and their heads and their hearts will be at the service of their communities in all public affairs, not that they may win personal glory, or esteem, or wealth, but that they may simply and honestly be helpful to others as they wish to be helped by others; that they may seek to lift up, not to cast down; that they may be willing to serve at a loss to themselves, if necessary, always lifting, never leaning.

There are two kinds of people on earth today,
Just two kinds of people, no more, I say.
Not the saint and the sinner, for 'tis well understood
The good are half bad, and the bad are half good;
Not the rich and the poor, for to count a man's wealth
You must first know the state of his conscience and health;

Not the humble and proud, for in life's little span
Who puts on vain airs is not counted a man;
Not the happy and sad, for the swift-flying years
Bring each man his laughter and each man his tears.

No! The two kinds of people on earth I mean
Are the people who lift and the people who lean.
Where'er you go you will find the world's masses
Are always divided in just these two classes;
And, oddly enough, you will find too, I ween,
There is only one lifter to twenty who lean.
In what class are you? Are you easing the load
Of over-taxed lifters who toil down the road?
Or are you a leaner, who lets others bear
Your portion of labor and worry and care?*

The university seeks to develop a sentiment that every student stand erect, square with the world, his face ever towards the rising sun of improvement of the people, of the civil society of which he is a member, that he stand with an eye that looks into every other eye and is not ashamed because he has done nothing to be ashamed of,—one who fulfills the teaching of the psalm which ought to be the chart of every citizen in this democracy. If I did not tell you that this psalm was sung into the hearts of all the people thousands of years ago, you would say that its teachings are thoroughly modern and apply to the present condition of society:

Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?

He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.

He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor.

In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoreth them that fear the Lord. He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.

He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved.

*Ella Wheeler Wilcox

Civilization Is Ethical

Now you will see that the main thought of this discourse is this: that all civilization or society is founded upon an ethical basis; that its roots are in the distinction between right and wrong; that public morality, public justice, public honesty, public courage, is just the same as private morality, justice, honesty, and courage; and that the term "Progressive State", as applied to the Nation, or to the several states of the Union, or to a great commonwealth, refers to its progress according to the true standards of morality, whether in private or in public life; that the thinking and feeling and acting of our citizens, whether acting as individuals or in solidarity for the public good, are governed and controlled in practice by the principles of morality; that equal and exact justice to every man shall be done, even though some part of society will suffer thereby; that business is conducted according to Christ's Golden Rule; that politics are managed by the same rule; that the education of our children is founded—deeply founded—in the same rule; that a man would rather be right than hold any office of honor or pride; that a man would rather remain poor all his days than take advantage of his neighbor; that the proverbial horse-trader would tell the bad, as well as the good points of the horse that he proposes to trade; that the sun of publicity shall shine upon all transactions of public corporations and private industry.

I have sought long and earnestly to find out what voice should be commanding in the affairs of this great Commonwealth, whose interests and whose good name are yours and mine. There are many and divergent opinions, as there will always be, as to what laws will contribute helpfully and directly to the welfare of this State. Some will say it should be the **vox populi**, or "voice of the

people". But we know that sometimes this voice is neither reasonable nor sane; that it is moved by passion and by self interest, which for a time seems to carry all before it. Yet if in this democracy the voice of the people does not control, where shall we go for the last and final word? Our fathers made and ordained the Constitution of 1787 as a chart for this great people, whose boundaries now are limited only by the oceans east and west. They provided for amendments to this Constitution, so that as the Nation grew and gained experience it might amend this great instrument to meet the necessary conditions. The country gave a great jurist to interpret the provisions of this Constitution, and it gave great thinkers, great statesmen, both in the Senate and in the House, to teach broadly its principles and provisions to the people. Forty-six states answer to the roll call, and these forty-six states are united by the invisible bonds of this powerful instrument into one mighty, commanding, rich, and spiritual people. One thing is clear—that it was intended and was so stated in our charter that there should be certain rights and privileges restricted to the states, and certain other privileges left to the National Government that should be supreme in the federal group of this Nation. It seems clear, further, that this restriction of the powers of the state and of the general government should remain so, that each may work out well its own problems and its own destiny. No theory of state's rights should be accepted that will interfere with Federal control of those things which make for the common good. On the other hand, no theory of Federal control should be permitted to interfere with the rights reserved to the states, enabling them to work out the best interest of the people of the state.

Progressive Nevada

The Commonwealth of Nevada is the fourth in amount of territory in the Union, embracing 110,690 square miles. Numerically it has the smallest population in the Union, about 82,000 people. It is a state of vast deserts, of towering mountains, of rich mines of gold, and silver, and copper; of hundreds of thousands of acres of irrigable land that only needs to be tickled with the hoe to give back an abundant harvest. Upon its vast stretches of upland are pastured unnumbered cattle and sheep, and soon many more acres for the husbandman will be reclaimed by the State by the conservation of the flood waters. Now, within the confines of this State are 82,000 men, women, and children, moved by the common impulse of humanity toward the making of homes and gaining of wealth. This State has the same problems, equal if not greater difficulties, with every other state in the Union. In the University, in provision for our common schools, in charitable institutions, as in the Hospital for Mental Diseases, and the Orphans' Home, in the penitentiary for criminals, in caring for the youth by means of a Juvenile Court, who can say that this State is not striving to do its duty and has not made the amplest provision consistent with its ability? In the ultimate analysis we must rely on an INTELLIGENT PUBLIC OPINION to govern in the making of laws, in the conduct of officials, and in the creating of a public conscience. I do not know where else we can go, or on what else we can rely, except on an opinion which is enlightened by reason and put in force by the common conscience of our people.

This State in its development politically ought to proceed along lines which were established by the Constitution of the State. Then as the years go by, after careful

discussion and consideration by the people, such changes may be made in the conduct of the State as seem best. This order of development is historical and progressive. The change of the law in favor of direct primaries is a case in point, and the operation of that law has, on the whole, been good, although there are some defects in it which the present Legislature is seeking to remedy. I am inclined to think that some of the proposed legislation in our neighboring states is really not progressive at all, and in time these states will change them. The Commission Plan of cities seems to be really progressive legislation and will doubtless work out great good to the cities which are thus governed. Gambling is repugnant to the moral sense of the people in every state in the Union, and gambling was removed by law from within the boundaries of the State of Nevada because the moral sentiment of our people compelled its abolition. The law against gambling has behind it and in support of it an intelligent public opinion and an aroused public conscience. I think that open gambling in this State is dead forever, and the attempts made at the present session of the Legislature to modify the law so as to make a violation of it a misdemeanor instead of a felony have failed because the public sentiment of this State will not allow this law to be tampered with.

Some people think that the only kind of legislation adequate to prevent the wrongs done by the liquor traffic is entire prohibition of that traffic in this State. Others consider that the saloon business should be guarded and taxed so as to eliminate the disreputable saloons and dives and to make the legitimate business pay an adequate revenue to the State and to the county, and, by law, to compel the liquor dealer not to sell to habitual drunkards, to Indians, or to minors. A bill to this effect has been introduced in the House by a member from Humboldt,

and I think it is a good bill, and one that ought to be passed. But the point I wish to make is that any required legislation in this State must have the sanction, the support of Sane Public Opinion to make it effective.

The question of proper divorce legislation will have little or no effect until an aroused and educated public opinion demands that there shall be certain restrictions. The University stands for the sanctity of the home; it wants to see homes dotting every hillside and valley in this State. It values the good name of the State as something above the price of rubies, but the only way that it can restrict the divorce evil by law is by an aroused public sentiment, a quickened public conscience. The University regards as detrimental to the State the practice which teaches our young people that marriage bonds are lightly held, that marriage is but an affair which young people can enter into heedlessly and abandon when they are repentant. The dissolution of the marriage bond ruins the home, robs children of their rightful inheritance to home and education. Surely this is a menace to our civilization.

Public opinion, carefully and soundly cultivated, will in the end arise as a flood and sweep away the evils that beset our civic life. We may for a time look upon these evils calmly, and not feel the movement of the mighty force impelling us to action. But let the sentiment, the idea, take firm grasp upon the State that a certain course of action is wrong and is robbing our society of its truest birthright, and taking away from us the holiest ties—then we can be assured that in time public opinion will compel legal action that will make these evils no longer possible. Public sentiment is akin to public opinion, but the word gives emphasis to the fact that in social affairs the rational emotions of the heart are a tremendous impelling and compelling power.

Is it not possible to say that equal suffrage for women is one of the marks of a progressive state, and that the legislation leading to it may be justly characterized as progressive legislation? The claim of the right of women to vote has certainly a moral basis. The women of this country are large owners of property in their own right. No class of people is more deeply interested in the public schools and the universities than the intelligent and educated women of the country; there is no danger of its interfering with the duties of maternity or motherhood, and it will put into our body politic a large and growing influence of a healthful kind. Some of the states have tried it or are trying it with success. In Wyoming, in Colorado, in Utah, in Idaho, in Washington, the women all have the ballot. None of the ills of which we heard have followed women's voting in these states; so, when they ask that our State Legislature submit an amendment to the Constitution permitting women to vote, should not this request be granted, and so allow a full and fair and free discussion of the question to take place throughout the State?

Public Sentiment

You know that President McKinley was averse to beginning a war with Spain. But the blowing up of the Maine in Havana harbor set the country on fire with indignation, and public sentiment gained such force that the President was compelled by this aroused public sentiment to declare war against Spain.

Sentiment is of the heart and throws beauty and grace and power over a man's life. It leads him to do some things which his intellect cannot approve. A wise public sentiment is the salvation of the state and society. I believe that a sound public sentiment is the desire of all good people, and in the end it is strong enough to lead

men to adopt those sound principles of government which we all want to see.

As the story runs, a committee, consisting of George Washington, Robert Morris, and Colonel George Ross, called upon Mrs. Betsy Ross and asked her if she could make a flag. She said she could try. Whereupon they produced a design roughly drawn of thirteen stripes and thirteen stars.

The authentic history of our flag begins on June 14, 1777, when in pursuance of the report of a committee, the American Congress adopt the following resolution:

> Resolved, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation.

Whatever may have been the actual origin of this flag, the sentiment which it has conveyed for 134 years was appropriately expressed by Washington:

> We take the star from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty.

So Betsy Ross sat sewing the red and white bars, the blue field, and white stars into the symbol of American nationality—the Stars and Stripes. And today that flag with its forty-six stars floats from the top of every public building and from every school house. It spreads its folds to the breeze on every American ship, and, wherever that flag floats, it is a symbol of the power, and the wealth, and the integrity, and the nobility of a great people. Every American citizen can invoke the power of the great Nation, which the flag represents, if he is in the line of his duty; and yet it represents only a sentiment, but a sentiment so strong, so vital, as to arouse the passion and the judgment of this great Nation in defense of a wrong done to its humblest citizen.

You know the incident, how an American citizen was condemned to death for some alleged crime in Spanish Cuba. The American Consul was persuaded that he was unjustly condemned. In the morning he was led out to his execution, and stood in front of the grave already dug for him, facing six armed soldiers who were to be his executioners, when the American Consul suddenly threw over him the American flag, and said, "I invoke the power of the great nation which this flag represents to protect this man in this hour of his great need". And the Spaniards did not dare give the order to fire.

Friends, I have a vision of this Commonwealth of Nevada clothing herself with honor and power, taking a noble place among the states of this great Nation, making our laws according to the ideals of public morality, and our Legislature doing equal and exact justice to all men. I see a State where every man and woman will have an interest in public affairs as in private affairs, and will sanction by their votes the election to office of only those who love God and do their duty according to the lofty ideals which shall govern this State. We may trudge the highways and byways of our life in this State, dusty, tired, worn, but then we shall carry within our breasts a conscience void of offense toward God and toward man, and a desire to give every man what we claim for ourselves—equal rights, equal privileges.

I see as in a vision the University of Nevada—our University—through the years and decades and centuries to come: she is standing, as always, for those things which make for the character of the young people, and the prosperity and welfare of this State; she represents in herself and in her students service for others, good citizens in the State.

The University comes to the people to minister, not to be ministered unto. I see the University supplied with

ample means, provided by this State and by private gifts, to do the great work which is placed upon her to do. I see her grounds and buildings clothed with beauty and fitted in the best way for usefulness. Her library, her laboratories, her classrooms are all of the best, so that the young people who come out of her halls shall know the best, and shall seek to work out in other places the beauty, the excellence, the good taste, the worthy character which has come to them during their university life.

Through her doors three thousand students, undergraduates and graduates, have passed out into life, prepared for the duties and the responsibilities and privileges of manhood and womanhood. The record of these young men and young women is a record of which any institution may be proud. Yet this is only the advance guard of the number of young people who are to go through this University year after year, century after century.

What a glorious army they will be, and what a sense of responsibility they will place upon this State, under whose guardian care this University is placed!

The University, beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, this University is our University for ever and for ever, and she—our Alma Mater—shall be our guide even unto death.

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